[9 cont.]

115 that is, mountain spirit, because he was consecrated to the
[776] mountain spirit when he was named. He was born under the sign
553 of the sheep, that is, in the second month; according to
European reckoning, this would be March, 1883.

[805] Like all Tujen, the old man is a Lamaist and adheres
[771] to the faith and the customs of his fathers. He is known throughout the vicinity as one of the few who are still very well versed in the traditional customs. For that reason he is asked to perform everywhere as master of ceremonies, festive speaker, overseer of sacrifices, and singer. If anyone in that region is asked about usages and customs, the usual answer is: "Go to old Tuo, he knows it best."

115 In addition he has the advantage, rare among the Tujen,
212 of having completed the Chinese classical school. He can read
[871] and write very well, better than most of his Chinese neighbors. He understands without difficulty history books, classical authors, local chronicles, etc., which in part are written in the literary
[191] language. He does not have a sufficient command of the Fandse language to be able to speak it fluently, but he knows the terms of the lamas and is able to distinguish fairly well as to whether a word is a genuine Tujen word or a Fandse word. He himself in his youth took down in Chinese characters a considerable number of Fandse songs, which he can translate and explain, as well as some legends and speeches. He claims that formerly the Tujen language was also written and that the script has simply been lost. -- He does not speak the language of the Koko
115 Nor Mongols, but he claims that it could be understood if neces-
191 sary. Of course the Tujen live too far away from the Mongols;
[648] only those in the vicinity of Huchu have a loose connection with the Mongols on the Tai-t'ung River beyond the Monastery Kuo-mang-szu.

• 124 [10] In the beginning it was not easy to persuade the old man, who for 20 years had not even been in nearby Sining, to visit me at the mission station at Kan-chia-pu, although the way there was only a two-hour ride. In the late fall of 1946 he came once for only a day. At that time I questioned him about the harvest thank-offering; the result was an article which appeared in Anthropos, 37/40. The old man could not imagine what I

[10 cont.]

124 had in mind. Besides, I had not treated him respectfully enough and made the mistake of not offering him enough brandy. After [181] [273] all, at that time I was still unacquainted with the proverb of the Chinese: t'u-jen chien chiu, chia-la chien liu; freely translated, "The Tujen are as fond of brandy as goats are of greens."

Only after a year did I again get in touch with him. At that time I was celebrating a festival in a neighboring community and invited the old man by messenger to a mutton feast. He received the place of honor next to me, ate his fill of the meat, and was challenged by one person after another to the drinking game, during which he consumed an ample amount. In this state of uplift an old Chinese, his former classmate, negotiated with him and obtained his consent to live with me for a few days in the station. When he appeared in January, 1947, he was received in the friendliest manner. He sat at the table with [273] me and received as much barley wine as he liked, and he could take a sizeable quantity of it. Upon his departure in the [262] afternoon I presented him with sugar, currants, baked goods, sausage, and cigars, things that are not common there, with which, as he said, he demonstrated at home the generosity of the European who had treated him as a complete and equal human being. When, in addition, I made it possible for him and his wife to receive medical treatment without cost from the mission sisters, his distrust disappeared; from then on he always showed up at my place for a number of days, and precisely on the date agreed upon, which is astonishing among these people.

To the old man's credit, let it be said at this point that afterwards he made absolutely no demands. He valued his honor and wanted to be taken seriously. For the rest, he lived in the same room with the employees of the mission station, slept on the same kang, and ate the same food, even though I offered him a room of his own and a special diet. He stated: "That does not suit an old farmer like me; I want to be with your people so that I have company." Only on certain days, for instance, at festivals or when there were visitors, did he have to have a substantial drink. This strongly stimulated him to tell stories, during which my attention was drawn to

[10 cont.]
124 all kinds of things that I noted in order to learn more about them later.

The old man received no fixed salary. He said: "We two are now used to each other like friends. If now and then you give me a piece of cloth for clothing, it will be all right." It was simply a matter of face. Accordingly, he now and then received cloth for himself and his grandchildren or, when he was ill, some medications. Or I gave him a few scrolls at the harvest festival, bought inks and paper, sent him a little jug of wine now and then, etc. On his part, he made ceremonious
[431] calls on me on the customary festive days or sent baked goods,
[572] a piece of meat, [11] some milk, as is customary between good acquaintances. Whenever his trips happened to bring him past my station, he would come in briefly to inquire about me. His relatives, too, frequently dismounted when they brought their sacks to the water mill in the valley, especially if the old man happened to be there. Thus a considerable number of Tujen, men, women, and children, gathered at times in the yard and were treated as guests. They told stories, sang, and laughed, and in exchange for some wheat I had to photograph them. In this fashion I was soon well known among them in the mountains.

One day the old man brought a young man to me and said: "Here is the husband of one of my daughters; he knows all the Tujen songs by heart and knows many legends. If you want him to, he will dictate everything. He can also draw pictures." Naturally I wanted him to. I was able to put down on paper a whole series of songs, fairy tales, and myths, among them the Geser saga. In addition he drew a series of pictures for
[126] me and with inexhaustible patience sang the different melodies until I could render them on the flute and transcribe them. When we sat together over a jug of wine in the evening, the two men sang their song and I played the flute in accompaniment. Then they felt at ease and said: "Soon we shall all come here, men, women, boys and girls; you kill a sheep and provide the barley wine, and we shall dance and sing."

114 Unfortunately that never happened! The events of the
115 time made a longer stay impossible. On July 1, 1949, I took

[11 cont.]
114 leave of these dear people, for only a few weeks, we thought.
[115] In actual fact, however, I was not to see them again. In the autumn of the same year old Tuo died and with him a portion of ancient knowledge sank into the grave.

My reports concerning the life of the Tujen are therefore incomplete, because prematurely broken off. Also, the work of
• 124 collecting did not proceed in order. At one time the two dictated only songs. At another time the old man told me about the customs; then I would have to be gone for a number of weeks; then again the work in the fields was so pressing that they stayed away for months. In the meantime I was able to observe a number of things myself and to check on the reports, or I met other Tujen and had them tell me things.

115 Time and again I found that the reports of the old man
124 were the most precise, the most ample, and the most reliable. Once, when I was able to observe a part of the puberty rite, the old man asked me immediately: "Well, how was it? Is it not true that I related everything correctly?" He took the position: "As an old man I do not lie anymore." Occasionally he would also say: "What I say is true; what I do not know, I do not say. Everything I tell you, I myself have experienced, led, and seen at home. Ask the others." He would also warn me about others: "What that one says is not quite accurate, he exaggerates; he is still a young man." Even among his compatriots old Tuo was regarded as an honest man; his classmate in particular emphasized his reliability. He even expressed his opinion to me whenever I said I had seen something in such and such a way: "Father, you have made a mistake." Glossing anything over for my sake was scarcely to be observed.

115 [12] Once, when he was gravely ill and unable to get up
123 for several months, I said in front of others: "What a pity if old Tuo were to die; he is such an honest, good man." This was later reported to him and it pleased him greatly. As I was once able to observe from my room without being noticed, it confirmed him in his sense of honor: "What? The Father says that I am an honest man. I owe it to myself to speak the truth."

The chief inhibition on his part consisted of the fear of ridicule. It was a long time before he was certain that I

[13 cont.]

123 view of the highly developed sense of honor of the old man.
115 For instance, he could not be persuaded to dictate the well-
[888] known mountain songs which often contain quite crude observations. On such occasions he would say: "For an old man like me this is not fitting, nor is it for you. Yes, when I was younger ... Actually, younger people are freer in this respect. But even then they will ask: "Are there no women nearby?" It is not to be overlooked that the old man knew very well that my notations were also to go abroad. He told me about the informant of Father De Smedt, who helped the latter to write books and had even been far away in Mongolia. -- Ordinary uneducated farmers are easily satisfied with the observation: "If you came to Europe, would you not ask what they eat and drink there and what peculiar customs they have? What kind of songs they sing, what gods they worship?" And in fact one can often hear the people say: K'an i-ko jê-nao, k'an i-ko hsi-ch'a, that is, "Let us take a look at the excitement and see what is extraordinary." In view of the ethnic and religious mixture in Tsinghai, the people are in this respect much more generous.

The old man immediately understood that my notations would form a book. And he was proud of helping with it: "You Europeans are to be admired. We Tujen do nothing [14] to preserve our history for our descendants. In some ten years we will have become Chinese; then nothing more will be known of our language, our customs, our religion. And you want to write down everything now so that nothing will be forgotten; your service is great."

115 Another obstacle in taking notes was the informant's age.
124 He tired very easily, made digressions, and at times would interrupt the most interesting narrative by suddenly asking: "Is your father still alive? How old is he? Are you going to Koko Nor shortly?" -- and then everything would lapse into a purposeless digressive conversation. Or he would suddenly feel unwell, would want to go to sleep at once, etc. Apparently he had the following attitude: I am the guest here of a good acquaintance, just as with my kin group; we talk about this and that, go home when we want, and come back... Accordingly, it also happened that he showed up when I was not at home, merely to visit the

[14 cont.]

115 124 people with whom he was so well acquainted. As a kin-group father, he was accustomed to a free life as his own master, and all compulsion was hateful to him.

Finally it should be taken into account that for a native it is not easy to pick out what seems worth knowing to the stranger. Everything is self-evident to him. And even the stranger cannot exhaustively inquire into all the details at one time, or even at the third or fourth time. But even in this respect the old man assisted me as much as possible.

5. The Taking of Notes

124 191 [871] The conversations and questioning always took place in Chinese, a language which all Tujen men and almost all Tujen women speak, except when they are among themselves. Nowadays there are schools in most of the villages, in which Chinese is the prescribed language of instruction. Since I was still on the point of learning the Tujen language, Chinese was the only one possible, and in view of our mutual familiarity with this language the possibility of a misunderstanding was very slight. In case of obscurities in the dialect, the old man was always able to give the corresponding Chinese signs; he then explained the meaning by various circumlocutions.

124 126 The old man proceeded from the assumption that I wanted to learn the Tujen language. He therefore dictated to me brief sentences about a certain object, which I took down; for instance, "The lama is coming. They are sweeping the house. They are burning incense. Lamps are placed on the table, etc. ..." Unfortunately I did not keep these sentences. Afterwards he repeated the sense for me in Chinese; some explanations of words were added. That was the first report each time. I immediately wrote this down in German. Sometimes it was very brief, sometimes somewhat longer. In every case, however, the course of an action, the peculiarity of a ceremony, etc. were briefly and concisely summarized. Since I was actually not primarily concerned with the language, but rather with the content, I asked for supplementary details after each report, at times immediately following, and at times only in

[14 cont.]
124 the course of the day or even after several days, so far as my
126 professional work permitted. [15] I added these details to the first report under the corresponding key words. At the beginning I also left the Tujen words in the text, but later I placed them under the heading "Expressions" at the end of each chapter. Naturally, the old man soon realized that I was primarily concerned with the facts and not with the words. He surprised me one day with the following remark, which provided the basis for the arrangement of the whole: "So, now I will first tell you what we do for the good fortune of the family, for the good fortune of the individual persons, for the good fortune of the herds and fields."

124 I added my own observations to the reports that I had taken
128 down, questioned others, occasionally compared the customs of the neighboring groups, at times found an observation in the literature, and added these supplementary items to each section as special notes provided with numbers.

114 Accordingly, each chapter has two parts. The first part
128 first of all presents a brief report, then under certain key words the details are added, and finally the word list. The source for this part is exclusively the informant. The second part, namely, the numbered notes, is by the author himself. They are based almost entirely upon his own observations or other sources, which in each case are indicated. [In the translation, the numbered notes are incorporated as numbered footnotes. The remarks made by the author as footnotes are indicated by an asterisk.]

124 It is not to be inferred, however, that the first, reporting part is literal dictation which relieved the writer of any further trouble. Rather, he had to work out everything from an ethnological point of view with the old man through questions repeatedly returning to the same subject, as is reflected in the key words. At the same time, the simple and clear manner of expression used by the old man was to be preserved as far as possible. Again and again, I read aloud to him the individual chapters in Chinese with the aid of my German stenogram: "Listen! Now I shall read to you what you have said." Whenever I had rendered something incorrectly, he would say immediately: "I did not say that; the matter is such and such."

[15 cont.]

124 Sometimes he would come back after a few days and ask: "May I hear once more what you have taken down? Something else has occurred to me, add this and that." In each case he would know exactly on which sheet the passage was, although he could not read any of it, proof of his attentiveness and his good memory.

128 192 177 Sometimes it may appear as though the linguistic dress of this first part excessively conveys my European technical terms and not the simple language of the informant. This is not the case, however, for such technical terms are found in both Chinese and the Tujen language. Chinese and Tujen have their own words for trance, meditation, offering, libation, prayer, etc. They distinguish between slaughtering and offering a sacrifice, between monk and layman, etc. These are, after all, the conceptions of a people who has not only been extensively influenced by Lamaism with its abundant religious forms, but also has active intercourse with Chinese culture. It should therefore be emphasized that all the words at the end of a chapter under the heading "Word List" come from the informant, including the indication of a possible Tibetan [16] or [198] Chinese origin (3). It is not surprising that so many Tibetan

3. [Foreign text p. 18.] Mr. Unkrig had the kindness to check the word lists. In the process it turned out that the informant was quite reliable with his information concerning the Tibetan equivalents. Where it seemed necessary (not always), these equivalents have been added to the individual chapters in the univocal form of the written language (Tib. and Mong.), with the entry (Unkrig). I am further indebted to Mr. Unkrig for many another linguistic suggestion and above all for the inspection of the lexicons and Lamaist literature that otherwise was not available.

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

people who have taken the Buddhist vows, are the usual practitioners.

TOPICS OF THE INSTRUCTIONS

Each year I seized every opportunity to get information from fasters concerning that captivating subject, and asked the children in the schools about what grandpa or grandma had said about the lama director, the topics of the preachings, the anecdotes narrated, the number of fasters. Every time the fasters reported that they were happy to have performed the exercises, although they had had a hard time. They had prayed in a group innumerable Om Manis, which had caused them to have a real feeling of happiness, and they had enjoyed the preaching. They seemed to be better Lamaists than before, for they spoke with enthusiasm about their experiences. Without doubt the fast rites had helped buoy them up and had given them zest for life.

However, it was always said that the directors of the exercises were not all interesting talkers, that some were really boring men, but that they all loved Li, the old Living Buddha of Erh-ku-lung. Every year, at three places at least, he was invited, and the fasters urged that the date of the exercises be postponed, in order to enjoy the old man's direction since he had endeared himself to the hearts of the people. He was an intelligent old Living Buddha, a picture of benevolence, with a great kind face, molded on pontifical lines, and all set for hearty smiles. He was a wonderful storyteller, with sparkling wit and a fetching sense of humor, who had the knack of keeping the fasters listening for two and three hours every day. He expounded his doctrine by means of anecdotes and unusual comparisons, which his uncultivated listeners could grasp, remember, and tell to others. He was a fine teacher.

The beloved topic of his talk was the life of Buddha, who fled from the luxurious palace of his illustrious parents; his terrifying mortifications and his endless charity, even for tigers and other animals, so that he had allowed himself to be devoured by the hungry tigress in order that she might nourish her cubs; his refusal to enter paradise, in order to remain in and save the world. Another topic was the paradise of Buddha and its oriental splendor where everybody hoped to go eventually; and also that of the eighteen hells, with all the terrifying torments used in the Orient. He used to put stress, in nearly every talk, on the omniscience of the terrible but equitable judge of death, who accepts no bribes, who knows all the merits and demerits of everyone; whose mill of justice grinds, in the most minute way, all our acts and intentions.

All the children knew that the poor in this world are people who are suffering, for their lack of charity in former existences, or for their covetousness or injustices. The topic of the punishments for injustices was one of those most elaborately developed by all the